Ambon OH4 ● Ceram OH9
MinangKabau OD10 Makassar OG6 Sundanese OD7 Madurese OD6 Moluccas OH1
Tagalog OA36 Gorontolo OG4 Malays AN5 Batak OD5 Borneo OC1

T G 198 Br MK Bg Md Sn Ml Mn I G Mo A C 197 ●

[148 cont.]

the Tagalog use the so-called Kawi whenever [149] two persons speak with each other and do not want a third person to understand them. Instead of tubig = water, they say bigtu. The name Kawi itself is a transposition of wika = to speak. The same applies to the Alfoer of the Minahasa and the Badjo [Bajau] who wander along the coast.

Finally, we still have to discuss another characteristic of the archipelago's languages, the splitting into dialects, which, of course, has developed further in some languages than in others. There are no dialectical differences in some of the languages, for example, Minangkabau and Riouw Malay, Sundanese, Madurese, Batak, Makassarese, and Buginese. The situation is quite different for other languages, however, such as Dajak, which consists of a number of dialects, and the Alfoer of the Minahasa, which although spoken by only 150,000 persons who inhabit a very small stretch of land, has eight dialects. It is even more pronounced in the bĕhasa tanah, which is spoken on the Moluccas. It consists of a great number of dialects, each of them localized in one or more villages lying very close to one another and wholly unintelligible to the inhabitants of other places. On the small island of Ambon alone, ten dialects are used (1). It is the same on the island of Ceram. On the

1. Van Hoëvell, Ambon, pp. 93 ff. Cf. also the language list in Ludeking, Schets van de Residentie Amboina [A Sketch of the Residency of Ambon], pp. 197 ff.

north coast in the Wahaai division alone there are 15.

I 197 174 The splitting of the original language into so many dialects was the unavoidable consequence of the separation of the various tribes and the lack of communication between them resulting from their wars and feuds.

Accordingly, the language developed and was modified

144 there is a high frequency of almost kinky hair.
[115] Rehatta, for example, is almost like an American Negro, with a heavy face and kinky hair. He is also very small, though this is not usual. Gaspersz is much more Caucasian. Some of the people here look like Javanese and are quite Mongoloid but most of them are proto-mongoloid
[551] and Papuan, mixed. The family names, largely with Dutch first names (at least among the Christians), sound very Papuan.

181 The people here seem very energetic and friendly, but I understand they are very sensitive. I get the impression that it is not a good idea to talk about this large element of
142 Papuan blood. The women here (whom I consider much less handsome in general than the Javan, Makassarese, Buginese, Toradja, and other Indonesian women) have heavy features, and their figures are often dumpy. Some, however, are not
[563] bad. So far I have not noticed very many Indos.
177 This place was taken by the Portuguese in the early 1500's, and they remained here for much of that century. The story is that Francis Xavier was here. The Protestants deny this while the Catholics insist that it is so. For example, the new Catholic school here is called after him. There are many Portuguese words in the
●[197] language here. The Dutch came in at the end of the 1500's. I talked about the Siwa, Lima, and Asa, but the men were not clear at all about these matters. It is the same old story.

197 The language here is Malay with a few differ-
195 ences in vocabulary. These local differences show similarities with the languages spoken on Ceram. These Ceram languages are dying out. Gaspersz says that a form of Ceram speech is heard all over in the old songs and that it is used in the adat ceremonies. And it is still used, especially by the elders, in some of the

197 kampongs. This is particularly true of the
195 Mohammedan kampongs, (which in general seem to keep the old ways better than the Christians). I will get the names of the kampongs where this speech is still used. Gaspersz did say that in Tulehu, it is used. There are a lot of people
[191] here who use Dutch most of the time, and a few have mastered English (for example, Rehatta).

463 It is a mystery to me how these folks live.
291 They say they are "employees," (evidently
241 largely government employees, in the schools,
262 etc.), fishermen, gardeners, makers of local sopi (distilled palm wine), cocoanut growers, and raisers of a few animals (there are no buffaloes here, but there are a few cattle, some pigs, and many fowls). There is practically no rice. The main food crop seems to be sago, which comes mostly from Ceram. In the towns people eat rice which is imported as the staple. There are some sago groves here too, and I have seen plenty along the roads. I've seen sago cakes too. And there is a fair amount of cloves. Formerly there was a fair amount of nutmeg (mace) [an aromatic spice consisting of the dried outer covering of the nutmeg], but this has nearly disappeared now. One Dutch informant told me that most of the port work is done by the Butonese. Evidently, the Ambonese dislike handwork.
464 They seem to have to go to school for a long
647 time because there are few jobs. Then a lot of
177 them seek army or other types of parasitic jobs
167 with the Dutch as there are few other opportunities here. Many of them simply have to get
[797] out. They also go in for mission work. Rehatta, who has been in the civil service in Ceram and New Guinea for a long time, says that the Ambonese officials and missionaries and teachers have singlehandedly "civilized" (and he says that there were very few Dutch involved although they

585 me to the party. At the end, after much exhorta-
574 tion to eat more, the same orator got up and gave
537 another long speech, ending with thanks to Tuhan
782 Allah. In the grace he told God about me and how I was going to tell the United States about Ambon. One point he made was that all men were brothers, Ambonese and Americans alike and what I was doing was like one branch of the family learning about another. Then they all stood up and we left for the house of the Radja. There were a number of young people along, boys and girls. One of the lads had a guitar. We had dinner at the Radja's house after some bad Chinese "brandy," and they ate too. We had nasi goreng [fried rice].

[368] Then we went back to the groom's house, or
535 rather to the dance place (village dance place)
533 nearby. Here the orchestra was playing quite
585 well. This is the local orchestra which received no pay, only drinks and food. To start the dance there was a grand march led by Gaspersz. I was next with the Radja's daughter. Then the dancing started with a waltz on the dirt floor. There were hundreds of faces looking on from behind the partition. It was very hot. Gaspersz called time for each batch of dancers because the floor was too small for everyone to dance at the same time. Then there was a wild sort of a dance which was called by a man named Jacob. His calls
● [197] were a mixture of Dutch and Malay, which is the way Gaspersz and all others here speak. We circled and bowed and swung partners and danced by fours in circles and did mad gallops in fours that almost melted me, and then we would prance forward and finally "langzaam achteruit."[1] All this was trying, and many, including me, were in streams of sweat. Some of the music was Hawaiian-like, and much of it was like krontjong with a
535 soupcon of swing. One song was called "Mari Kami
533 Dansa."[2] All songs were played a little too fast

[2] [i.e., "Come, Let's Dance" --Analyst]
[1] [i.e., slowly backwards --Analyst]

T It is very interesting to hear the bahasa
197 tanah [the local language], which is used most often in the Hitu kampong. Even the children speak it. It is practically the same as on Ceram, and it's certainly far from Malay. It is the language of the family names and place names here and that is why they are hard for me to remember. It sounds completely alien.

582 The Radja said that adat is kept much more in
178 Mohammedan than in Christian kampongs and Gaspersz
182 agreed. Still, some things are not that way. For example, the Christians keep the old taboo (?) on family endogamy (Can this be? If so it is very interesting. [RK says yes later on]) more than the Mohammedans, who follow agama rules only. But even the Christians have to change somewhat in this regard. For example, there are so many of the Soumokil clan in Saparua that they have to inmarry.

505 From here one can see Ceram clearly. It is mountainous and only about twelve miles, or three hours and fl. 2.00, from here by dugout. Motor boats leave here for there and Saparua and the other islands.

161 This is the biggest negri in population in
361 Ambon Island. The population is about four thousand. Nearly all the houses are along about three parallel streets along the shore. But the Radja says that the inland areas have Binongko (from Buton) living with their gardens.

[764] We talked about things like funeral customs
124 and the Radja told me that many of the old practices remain despite Mohammedanism. He asked me a keen question when he asked me whether I favored keeping the old adat or changing. I dodged. He reads papers and is interested in
668 politics. For example he told me how progressives in East Indonesian circles such as the East Indonesian parliament are speaking against

A T
583 up. There is a lot of elopement here. It is called lari bini. Sometimes this occurs in order
A to avoid the cost of a feast, but often it is to
[578] avoid the bride's parents' opposition. The latter often get very angry and may even lead the
A parties concerned into knife fights.
691 I understand that there are many cases here
423 over disputed land boundaries, especially be-
578 tween negri, but also over smaller area boundaries. Rehatta says that there are piles of them in the office. He also said that an Ambonese will seldom fight to kill, but that over land disputes concerned with boundaries he may do so. (Thus the land business begins to emerge.)
C In my notes on Ceram I see that the chiefs
● A
585 there get pieces of cloth at weddings. This is
● 197 precisely what happens on Ambon. Where do they get this notion about no more old culture in Ambon? The fact is that it is Ceram culture, and probably Patasiwa. Certainly the language is the same. And when I look from Tulehu across
A the bay to Ceram nearby I see that Ambon Island
[131] and the others are mere off-shore islands of Ceram.
A Soa membership is entirely patrilineal, although
611 it is said that they have ambil anak too, and if
614 there are no girls they may adopt a boy into the
597 soa, like the Batak.
A Time after time the Radja pointed out how adat
182 wins out over agama here. This is especially
764 true in regard to the funerals. When I get these
178 men loosened up, it is remarkable how they talk about the old ways living on. They know everything in my notes. Even Riedel[1] seems to be not bad here!
[114]
A I have heard several times how Ambonese put a
273 deer embryo into the koolwater (one Dutchman says
525 that kool means alcohol) to make it strong. It

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

T & A

161 I think, and this kampong is the largest in all
621 Ambon with a population of about four thousand. The Mohammedan kampongs of Hitu are regularly bigger than the Christian kampongs on Leitimor. The Amahusu population is only about four to five hundred. (Lated denied.)

A

798 Relations between Christians and Mohammedans
177 are excellent here. In fact, they both retain
771 the old adat to a remarkable degree. The kampongs on Hitu keep more of the old ways, for example,
●[197] they still speak the bahasa tanah. This may be because they are more remote. On the other hand, Mohammedanism may be less destructive of the old adat than Christianity. Also, the followers of the latter have the Dutch models to follow, whereas the former adherents have no advanced Mohammedan folk to use as models for ever purer acculturation. In both cases the radjas are constantly saying that despite new things, and religion, and modernism, the old adat is essentially good and must not be lost. I can see that even after four hundred years of acculturation these people do keep up a lot of the old practices amazingly well.

796 For example, October 31 was Martin Luther Day
177 (I noted a sign in the Latuhalat church saying
778 "Wittenberg Hervorming")[1], and great crowds came
769 to Ambon from many kampongs in Leitimor to have
782 open air ceremonies on a hillside behind the war cemetery. There they were, each negri in its own place, with a preacher on a pulpit decorated with leaves and the choirs ranging beautifully
[291] on the slopes. The women, as usual, were dressed in long kebaya (the Latuhalat choir women all wore pink kebaya). Although this was Christian and was concerned with Luther, wasn't it really like the old negri lama practices? Could not

[1] [i.e., "Wittenberg Reformation", Lutheran Church--Analyst]

T

423 and gave an example: the Radja's dati, Dati
621 Orohella, which has only about one hundred mem-
556 bers, and Dati Lestulehu with perhaps three hundred. If each dati has land with about five hundred trees on each, the former has five trees per capita and the latter only less than two. He agreed and gave another example of a dati on the town limits which has only about twenty sago trees altogether. He pities these people. They must try to get a living in other ways. Nothing seems to be possible in regard to alleviating this system because the limits are set.

423 I asked about the land which has been lost
425 because a dati or two have died out. He said that this seldom happened and is unclear as to the result, but I gather that it reverts to the negri. Perhaps they can reapportion the land in some way or other.

262 I got to see some sago. It is sold only in
252 the market place or privately in houses, never
[443] in the stores. It is packed in leaves of sago, looking like about twenty pounds (he said 10
[435] kilograms). Such a unit sells for fl. 5.00. This same kind, uncooked, is also sold in slices from a cake which looks like a circular cheese. I saw a woman cutting a wedge with a knife. The consistency is like cheese too. It is also sold in cakes which are hard and look like Mexican tortillas, folded. It is eaten with fish, vegetables, etc. The cheeselike stuff is cooked and comes out like meal.

197 Then we got onto the subject of the local
184 language which is a Ceramese language; as Ambon-
621 ese is a Ceramese culture. It is spoken in Hitu only. It is not spoken in Leitimor. It is spoken mostly in Mohammedan kampongs (and in two Christian kampongs on Hitu). To me this is another example of Mohammedan backwardness. It is

T
197 also an example showing that before 1930 there
184 were no schools in Mohammedan kampongs. Anyway,
621 there are five divisions or dialects of this bahasa tanah. They are mutually incomprehensible, and there are additional local differences. Malay is used as the lingua franca when people speaking two forms of this local language meet. In speaking with Christians the Mohammedans must use Malay. (I found out later that some Christian kampongs do use a form of the bahasa tanah). The five divisions are:

I. Tulehu (Mohammedan)
Tengah
Tial
Liang
Wakal
Hila
Kaitetu
Mamala
Hitu
II. Asilulu (Mohammedan)
Ureng
Wakasihu
Larike

These four are opposite Huamual peninsula of Ceram and my assistant suspects that the people from these areas can understand the speech of the Huamual region of Ceram.

On the south coast of Hitu:

III. Laha (Mohammedan)
IV. Liliboi (Christian)
V. Alang (Christian)

191 This led to the question of the use of languages
871 in the school. Malay is used from the start al-
182 though children hear only local language in their homes because the parents use it all of the time. The gurus do not know the local language, or at

T

563 582 I wonder if it may not be that the man asks, and the assumption is that he must have been turned down by a local girl if he takes a Butonese wife. [154] He also said that a man who is not satisfied with life might go off to the hills and settle down with a Butonese girl.

668 521 We talked about politics. He said he thought that if Ambon, Minahasa, New Guinea, and the Moluccas were separate from Java they would have to remain poor. He agreed with me in everything. And he said that many people in Ambon thought this way. I think that perhaps the young people are pro-RIS while the old folk and the nobility are for a separate state associated with the Dutch, because they know that the new day would spell an end to their privileged status. Everyone is very careful in talking, except in confidence.

A

423 425 621 623 [184] Amahusu: I went back there in the afternoon. What a run this is! We began by talking about the dati rules in Tulehu and the assistant said that he was sure that the rotating system is true in Eri, Latuhalat, etc. He agreed that my theory that it is followed by the Christian and not by the Mohammedan kampongs is probably true. Thus I have a fairly good check (without checking every kampong in Ambon). He also said that in Amahusu they may sell trees but not land. He said that if by some chance there were ever a question of selling any part of the negri land, even the saniri could not decide on this. There would be a tremendous to-do, and there would have to be what he called a saniri besar, that is, a meeting of every person (man?) in the kampong.

● 197 178 There is no more bahasa tanah in Leitimor, and even the very old people do not know it. Of course there are a few songs that still retain bahasa tanah words.
! [i.e., of land cultivation--Analyst]

A

000 a Brooklyn."

[578] 621 608 As above, Eri is said to be the old-time enemy and a mountain kampong is this kampong's pela partner. Incidentally, the festa negri is to "bikin pela panas" (that is, to renew pela bonds) and all pela partners attend. I must check to see if this is exactly right. They seem to have no special feelings against any group, except for [563] the economic drive which expelled the one poor Chinese. As far as I can see there is very little [186] dissatisfaction in the village. The people are too provincial to see that the place is a dump.

769 782 775 The role of ancestor worship is still very strong. In discussing this we had a long talk on the ancestor cult. The smart man said that most of the folk believe in ancestral spirits. They are supposed to come and do certain things in the area and the whole kampong goes to the negri lama on great occasions to ask for their help. [526] They believe that the ancestors hear them. Thus if they have a big paddle race (boat crews) they go to such a spot and implore the help of their ancestors. This is true for other big events. But evidently they do not do this individually. No personal pilgrimages. There are lots of [773] stories about the ancestors and there are stories about the great founder ancestors who came from Celebes. There is no sky descent here. The assistant has collected a lot of stories written down by a teacher in Eri. He will copy them for me.

I am impressed at the way the smart man insisted that the ancestor cult is still very strong. My assistant acted skeptical but admitted it. I must get more about this.

769 197 178 Regarding the ancestor cult, the smart man made a good remark and applied it to the whole question of how adat is kept much better in Hitu than here

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769 in Leitimor. He said that when the bahasa tanah
178 goes, the adat and the other old things tend to
197 go too. The bahasa tanah is certainly the vehicle for the old things.

574 On the way to Tulehu in the morning, I was hailed at Paso and a crowd of women and others asked to be taken to Tulehu as their bus had broken down and they were going to get a boat on the way to Saparua. They said they were returning the day after tomorrow, and that they had relatives there. Visiting in this fashion is evidently a common thing. The term for relatives
[601] that they used is turun menurun.

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124 Tulehu: The Radja was there today and I talked with him for a long time. The police
622 officer from Ambon came in at the end so that I had very little time to go on with the schedule. But I got a lot of information from our talk. I was able to clear up the soa-dati details on which Gani had been confused. This shows that the complexity here is hard even for the scribe of the village. But the Radja knows always.

721 First the Radja denied that they had ever had
245 head-hunting here. He said then that he had heard
173 of it but that it had taken place a long long time ago. Then further he said that he had heard people say, "Sekarang musim potong kepala." [Now is the time to cut heads.] He says that they say this in Saparua too. The season for such activity evidently is the time of fruit plucking, that is of the cloves (and thus it is much like the post-harvest celebration elsewhere. Perhaps heads were required for feasts in the old days too.

000 The verified social organization is as follows:

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In circumcision a
304 bamboo knife is used. The girls do not sunat.
413 There is no tooth filing and no tattooing.
562 A

Amahusu: The older man there who is from the
614 Silooy fam said that Da Costa is really a sub-
582 division of Silooy and this explains the Radja's
784 name. I asked what divisions were the oldest.
262 He said, according to legend, Waas was the old-
est. I said he must be wrong. He said he thought that there used to be preferred marriages in certain fam but he had no evidence to offer. He also said that in addition to the taboo on the gurita fish, the Tomasila have a rule that if one eats another kind of small fish they
[412] must use a bamboo knife to clean it.

Only those who are educated have a chance at
464 getting office jobs in Ambon. Plenty do. At
555 the present time, however, all offices are filled
562 (and how!). Incidentally the Tulehu man said that he thought if the Dutch left it would make lots of good jobs for the Indonesians (!). Girls often work in the hospital. Some uneducated men make plenty of money as carpenters and artisans.

797 There is no mission here but the church has
793 a preacher and six assistants. Each gets at
874 least fl. 200.00 per month. Thus it appears to
465 be rich, and the government also gives some aid evidently. Every day something is going on in the church. There used to be a school for preachers in Ambon. It is now located in Saparua.

212 There were quite a few illiterates here even thirty years ago.

● 197 Everyone here speaks the local language, a form of Indonesian, but none of them speak the old local language, the bahasa tanah. Even a hundred years ago it was gone completely. The older man said that his grandfather could not speak it. The original bahasa tanah here was in the Laha group. This means that everyone

A A
●197 here can speak Indonesian. Very few people here
[191] can speak Dutch. I think he said only twenty. He believes, however, that in a few years with the great number of students now learning such things in school there will be many people who will know Dutch. No one here speaks English, but they are teaching it in the Ambon schools.

A 212 204 217 There is very little reading done here. I told them about the people in America reading all the time, even in subways. There used to be a traveling library that came here and books could be borrowed for one cent a week. This is no longer true. There also was at one time a library in Ambon. This too is no longer in existence. There are three Malay papers: Masa (Pupella's paper); Sulo Molukken (Moluccan Torch), issued by the government; and a religious paper.

C [501] 131 361 727 Ceram: Wednesday, November 9. I left Ambon at 8:30 A.M. on a Government Higgins motorboat B-010. We sailed around the east side of Leitimor and thence between Ambon and Haruku seeing Tulehu on one side and Kailolo on the other. Then we sailed along the north coast of Haruku and Saparua, with Nusalaut in the distance to the south. Thence we swung to the coast of Ceram and into Elpaputi Bay and then to Amahei, a small place of perhaps two thousand inhabitants at the end of a narrow inner bay. The jutting narrow peninsula that separates this bay from Elpaputi Bay is cleared on top and there was an airstrip here which was used by the Japanese. The entire town was razed by the American Air Force in less than one hour. Every house is new. For example, only the stone floor remains of the former large government office. This office is under a large waringin tree, which notably escaped damage.

A
665 is the KKM. At present, of the three (I think)
668 Ambon representatives in the parliament of East Indonesia, two are PIM (Pupella and the one from Nusalaut), and the Saparua man is a waverer. Most of the young men are PIM, but the older ones, especially the government men and soldiers, and the radjas, are PTB.

E

C
575 Ilnamuti: Rehatta met a boy from Mani who
304 took him hunting. He said that the Kakean still goes on but that it is secret. The boy's name is Markus Kukulanite. He said that many of the Mani go to Waraka and that there are still a few who tattoo. But most of them go back to the hills, especially if they are old. Rehatta
[778] tried to shoot a bird on the batu pemali hill
[784] and the boy stopped him. The old kepala soa of Kakiay is Markus Kakiay.

A
63 Ambon: Rehatta listed the negri of Ambon
771 Island. There are seventy-eight: forty-four on
197 Ambon Island proper (seventeen on Leitimor, and twenty-six on Hitu), eleven on Haruku, seven on
361 Nusalaut, and sixteen on Saparua.

C- Christian
M- Mohammedan
bt- bahasa tanah

Ambon

Leitimor		Hitu		
1. Latuhalat	C	1. Suli	C	
2. Sitale	C	2. Tial ½ C, ½	M	bt
3. Urie	C	3. Tengah-Tengah	M	bt
4. Amahusu	C	4. Teluhu	M	bt
5. Batumerah	M	5. Waai	C	
6. Hativeketjil	C	6. Liang	M	bt
7. Halong	C	7. Morella	M	bt
8. Paso	C	8. Mamala	M	bt

Ambon

Leitimor

631	9. Hutumuri	C	
197	10. Rutong	C	
771	11. Leahari	C	
361	12. Ema	C	
	13. Kilang	C	
	14. Naku	C	
	15. Hatalai	C	
	16. Soya	C	
	17. Urimeseng	C	
	18. Hukurila	C	

Hitu

9.	Hitumesse	M	bt
10.	Hitulama	M	bt
11.	Wakal	M	bt
12.	Hila	M	bt
13.	Kaitetu	M	bt
14.	Ceith	M	bt
15.	Negeri Lima	M	bt
16.	Ureng	M	bt
17.	Asilulu	M	bt
18.	Larike	M	bt
19.	Wakasihu	M	bt
20.	Alang	C	bt
21.	Liliboi	C	bt
22.	Hatu	C	
23.	Laha	M	bt
24.	Tawiri	C	
25.	Hativebesar	C	
26.	Rumahtiga	C	

Haruku

1.	Haruku	C	
2.	Sameth	C	
3.	Ruhumoni	M	bt
4.	Kabau	M	bt
5.	Kailolo	M	bt
6.	Pelau	M	bt
7.	Kariu	C	bt
8.	Hulaliu	C	bt
9.	Aboru	C	bt
10.	Wasu'u	C	bt
11.	Oma	C	bt

Saparua

1.	Haria	C	bt
2.	Porto	C	bt
9.	Ulath	C	
10.	Sirisori Serani	C	

Saparua

631	3. Tiouw	C	11. Sirisori Islam	M	bt
•197	4. Paperu	C	12. Boy	C	
771	5. Saparua	C	13. Tuhaha	C	
361	6. Ihamahu	C	14. Iha	M	bt
	7. Noloth	C	15. Kulor	M	bt
	8. Itawaka	C	16. Ouw	C	

Nusalaut

1. Nalahia	C	bt
2. Sila	C	bt
3. Leinitu	C	bt
4. Titaway	C	bt
5. Abubu	C	bt
6. Akon	C	bt
7. Ameth	C	bt

Thus we have the following:

	Christian	Bahasa tanah	Mohammedan	Bahasa tanah
Ambon	25½	2	18½	17½
Leitimor	(17)	(0)	(1)	(0)
Hitu	(8½)	(2)	(17½)	(17½)
Haruku	7	5	4	4
Saparua	13	2	3	3
Nusalaut	7	7	0	0
Totals	52½	16	25½	24½

197 771 184 Of the 78 kampongs in all of Ambon, 42 still have the bahasa tanah. All except one of the 25½ Mohammedan kampongs have the bahasa tanah. Only 17½ of the 52½ Christian kampongs have the bahasa tanah today.

Thus in Ambon proper there are 19½ negri with bahasa tanah, two of which are Christian, and 17½ of which are Mohammedan. In Haruku there are 9 negri still using the bahasa tanah, 5 being Chris-

184 tian and four Mohammedan. In Nusalaut all 7 of
771 the negri have the bahasa tanah (all are Christian.)
●197 In Saparua there are 5 negri with bahasa tanah, 2 being Christian and 3 Mohammedan.

614 Then we went on to the matter of soa, dati, and
621 fam. Rehatta says that a soa is merely a ward of
423 a negri. He says that a fam is the largest genea-
582 logical unit. It is like a patrilineal clan (without exogamy?). Note that people do not marry others with the same name, and that name is that of the fam. As a matter of fact, therefore, the fam are exogamous, and are real sibs or clans. The dati are pieces of land. All pieces of land in a dati (like an "estate" of the fam) are not necessarily located together. They may be scattered over several sections. The rumah tangga are the households.

614 Rehatta says that rumah tau are the same as fam.
621 In Tulehu, however, I note that the Radja says
592 that the soa are the same as the rumah tau, and that this is the reason that originally all members of the rumah tau lived in a single house or ward of houses, although they may be scattered today. Thus we have an equation here involving soa, fam, and rumah tau. This may be the reason why the new word "ward" has come in, i.e. "kampong." Usually the soa is merely like the kampong of Tulehu. It may be that originally each soa was inhabited entirely by the members of a single fam, and this may be why there is so much confusion regarding soa and fam.

614 The fam may have been localized in soa wards
621 originally. Likewise each fam has a dati, that
423 is, an estate consisting of pieces of land. The
551 dati have the same names as the fam. These dati names are the names of different plots of land in the estate of the fam. In Soya the dati names are the same as the fam names, and this is also true of Tulehu. Probably, therefore, the name of the

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789 the asker must pay something for the information,
791 and this gift is called hadia. Gani tells all of this quite seriously.

829 Then we went on to the schedule, with the imeum
186 listening in. He would always bring up agama rules and seemed scandalized at hearing of Minangkabau matrilineal practices and the pots on the Buginese and Makassarese mosques. Prohibited.

197 In Tulehu one hundred per cent of the popula-
191 tion can speak the local language. The only
178 exceptions are the adult immigrant Javans,
563 Butonese, Chinese, and Arabs. The children of these learn the local language too. About sixty per cent speak Malay and everyone under thirty years of age can do so. Fifty years ago very few people here could speak Malay. The school seems to be the main reason for this change.

The only people who can speak Dutch are the Radja, three gurus, and two soldiers. This totals six. I can see that the Radja is not too good at it. The hadji sailor and the four sailors who lived before in Singapore, making five in all, can speak English.

563 There was one Arab family here and there are
871 about ten who attended the Arab school which was set up until the teacher, an Arab, died. It was called "Sekolah Medras." Now, if one wants to learn Arabic, he must go to the Arab school in Ambon. There are five individuals from Tulehu now. Later on they become gurus.

212 Sixty per cent of the people in Tulehu can read and write Malay. Only six can read Dutch. Only about forty can read and write Arabic. One hundred per cent of the population, male and female, can read the Koran. Only about ten, however, can understand its meaning. However, Gani insists that one hundred per cent can read

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Father, all uncles:	bapa (with uncles the personal name is added too).
Mother, all aunts:	mama, ibu (with aunts, personal names are added too).
All cousins:	adi (younger), kaka (older).
(Sibling terms same as those for cousins)	
Grandfather:	tete'.
Grandmother:	nene'.
Grandchild:	tjitji.

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I asked about the name of Amahusu. He said that it comes from ama-bungsu. This means "father no more." There is a story about a man from Ceram (Saulahu) named Buyeratan, who had three brothers and one sister (again we see the five, and always one sister), but whose father was unknown or dead. He came along by raft to Amahusu, which was then unoccupied. He landed to the south at a rock and then went to the negri lama and lived alone for awhile. Then there was a war with Eri when the Pupella people (then named Sutella) came to the negri lama from Suli. There is a river here still called Air Pupella. Meanwhile Buyeratan had married a woman of Soya. (Why can't I understand these people speaking Malay? I have no trouble with the Tulehu folk. I got this story wrong probably, possibly because the Amahusu folk speak better and more complicated Malay. It may also be because it is their own language, the real Ambonese Malay, which they speak. I read that it is hard for an outsider who knows Sumatran Malay to understand. However, Tulehu folk who use Malay

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197 as a second language, are easily understood by
124 me. Also, they learn Malay in school, and perhaps they learn the standard Malay which I understand.)

178 In answer to a question as to whether or not
581 there has been any change in the concept of the "suitable man or wife" in the last fifty years, my man from Amahusu said piously that the main thing is good conduct. They must be respectable. Beauty is secondary, and in fact it may be third in rank, as they also desire industry. They are really Dutch and seem to think very little about the looks of women.

848 Very few children are born out of wedlock here.
836 Perhaps there are one or two a year. (This seems to be a fair amount to me.) Usually such girls get a husband later. There is very little premarital sexual activity and most girls are virgins at marriage.

624 Note: There are four marinyo here. Three live in Naher and one in Westonong; none in Wakang.

583 After the couple has eloped they stay at the
585 man's house for one or two days. Then the woman
178 stays there for perhaps as long as twenty days. The pair sleep together and are regarded as married. When they are ready for a feast, it is held. Then they go to church and get married in a formal wedding ceremony and go to the radja in order to get registered. Following this there is a two-night feast. (Thus we see the remnants of free love here too. They are married and have sex relations before the church rite. And this is the usual thing. Thus tjara lari replaces the trial marriage of Tulehu.)

591 Residence is patrilocal first unless it is a case of tulung dati. Then, if the man is an oldest son, they remain in the father's home. If

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755 cause of the illness, give medicine, and tell if the person will get better or how many days until he will die. These persons are called mauwe! They open an old Bible at random, ask the name of the sick person, what date he got sick, etc., and by a combination of Bible soothsaying, numerology, and second sight, they give the information wanted. He says he is astonished how right they are and wonders how they do it. They are well known, and one is a pensioner.

755 753 774 They also recall the soul of a sick person (this soul is called sumangat) as the illness may be caused by its absence. They do this by waving

● 197 a small torch in a circle and intoning a chant in the old bahasa tanah. The people from Laha can understand this, as the bahasa tanah of Amahusu was the same kind as that of Laha, which has kept its bahasa tanah. These mauwe cannot really speak bahasa tanah, but they know the charms in it. (He said something about how they can speak in strange languages too, but I could get only the bahasa tanah stuff later.)

And the kepala soa of Soplanit may also be called in. He too can recall souls of the ill and does it in the same manner with a torch waved in a circle and a chant in the local dialect. The kepala soa of Soplanit passes this knowledge on to his son, who succeeds him. (My guess is that the old mauwen or maybe mauwen besar was from Soplanit.) Note that the mauwe can prescribe obat /medicine/. Thus we have examples of magic charm, soul catching, soothsaying, old language, and medicine. The whole business. This is fine material, and I must ask more about it in other places.

775 They think one should go to heaven (sorga) or hell (naraka). They always believe that people go to sorga.

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266 some occasion. It was relatively unimportant,
173 at least in terms of what the people remember
681 here. There is no memory of human sacrifice and none of torture. In law or adat they never had the death punishment here.

538 Legends and folklore are frequently discussed
521 although this is a subject which is declining,
178 even with the old folk. I see this when I talk with the old people. They know a lot that the young people do not.

178 That many of the old traits are disappearing
771 does not concern the young. The old like to re-
182 call the past but evidently they are not making much of an effort to keep the young in the same groove. My guess is that Mohammedanism stands against them. Mohammedanism may not be absolutely against old things such as the Christian preachers are, but it makes the old folks lose their spirit in trying to have the young people hold on. They have no "charter" for the old any more, as Mohammedanism is the only religion. They could not justify easily any effort in this direction.

197 I am sure that the old language of tradition
178 helps to keep the memory of the past alive. The old man from Waai said that when the bahasa tanah goes that is the beginning of the end of the old ways. Tulehu and other Mohammedan negri still have the bahasa tanah.

Note: The old man from Waai said that they no longer use the bahasa tanah in Waai. He is pretty sure that Tial Serani does not use it, and he doubts that Tial Slam still does either. I take his word for Waai, but I must ask about Tial.

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764 Amahusu: Few burial customs survive. Perhaps
178 one example is the three-night death gathering of

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304 is done for greater beauty. They were surprised
178 when I said it was surely an old custom on the
way out!

They remember that there was tattooing here long ago.

411 The shields here were very narrow, and the
[535] tjakalele ones are narrow now. They are only about eight centimeters wide. Thus they are really parrying shields, and a sign that no bows were used here perhaps.

292 The fellow from Saparua cannot remember any-
178 one making uti-uti sarongs there, but he says
439 they use them on adat occasions sometimes. These they buy from Timor. Thus they have forgotten that they too once had them. However, the "adat" remark is a giveaway.

417 Sasi signs are made on leaves, cocoanut,
421 pineapple, etc. They are strung on a frame.[1]

624 The position of kepala dati is hereditary.
423 He must be the oldest son of the former kepala
614 dati. In Paperu the tuan tanah, who is old,
[197] still speaks the bahasa tanah, but his son and successor does not learn it.

567 The name for slaves in bahasa tanah here is ata.

624 The Saparua man says that the term bangsa
565 hatsil was used in Saparua for regents who got
114 a bit more pay than the regular radjas. They were not of lower rank. He says they still choose the kepala kewang from a certain bangsa, that is, from a certain lineage. This is not so in Tulehu.[2] It shows that the author of the ENI article must have been writing about Saparua. But as usual, the fool doesn't say that his remarks are for Saparua. Perhaps, of course, this was true of Ambon too at one time.

565 In the negri of Saparua there are still bur-
624 gers. They are under the wijkmeester who is
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[1] [See D.D. Tauern, Patasiwa und Patalima, Leipzig, 1918, pp. 100-01--Analyst]; [2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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624 three and two kepala dati.
614 There are three marinyo, but they are chosen from the whole negri. There is no longer a kepala kewang, but if one should be needed they may reinstate this office.

The mauëng line died out about one hundred years ago. The tuan tanah took over the post and the title.

623 The saniri, of twelve members, consists of the following: the radja, tuan tanah (mauëng), three kepala soa, two orang biasa (elected), four kepala dati, and the djurutulis [scribe] (Joseph de Fretes).

624 292 701 The kapitan is a remarkable young lad, who looks Javan and all the more so because he wears a batik headcloth when he does the war stuff.

361 621 The beach is divided into three divisions, as follows: Salamuru (Labuan Patti), Sausela (Labuan Pessi), Namasoa (Labuan Huwai).

423 614 Before 1814 each soa had its own garden, and there was no dusun dati. Then the dati were formed. Thus it seems that the dati system is relatively new and that it replaced the soa system of landholding. The soa lands were split up among the newly formed dati. These soa gardens were named too, as follows: Patti--Nunumete; Pessi--Pikanusa; Huwai--Asuruhu. These names occur among the dati now.

476 608 582 The uli brothers (former bond under Soya) do not help with the actual negri labor, but may contribute money to help out if needed, for example, in building a new church. The bahasa tanah here was lost long ago, although it is still used in certain rites. Ema is the pela negri. The marriage taboo exists, although there are cases where this has broken down recently.

585 622 The wedding of a radja involves a long and elaborate negri feast. When old Gaspersz got married there was a week long feast.

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000 area, and they must buy sago from the outside.

344 342 The new baileo was built about thirty years ago. When a new house is built two copper cents are placed under the main post.

292 About one hundred per cent of the people wear black clothes for church, and this holds for males and females.

304 178 Teeth evening is rare now, but when they do so it is for beauty only. A stone is used by the person himself, and there is no memory of any special significance.

There are no more significant tattoos, but I see many men with designs on their arms. This they say is to suit their taste only, but it is clearly a survival.

565 292 624 The kapitan family are a kind of lower nobility or upper commoner. They wear special ritual clothes and do special ritual things.

583 777 The old man says there is no anak harta, but the Nyora says that they may indeed have it if there is no bride price paid. In general, however, except for the tulung dati (rare), one must pay the price. If they don't, it is believed that the couple will have bad luck and that the children will die.

624 562 Women may become kepala dati, but only if they are unmarried. The same rule applies for the rani.

466 178 The old man says that the kwarto dienst was once practiced all over Leitimor. It provided labor for the radja. About once in four years a given man had to work one month. Four men worked at a time.

844 791 197 There are three midwives (biang) here. There are magicians or mauwe here as well as in the Amahusu area. They call back seized souls of the sick and use the old language.

The kapitan uses the bahasa tanah in his war invocation too.